

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 03949 241818Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 ACDA-07 /089 W
-----250546Z 083215 /12

R 241720Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5483
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 3949

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, XF
SUBJECT: SOVIET ME EXPERT DISCUSSES POLICY

REF: MOSCOW 3804

SUMMARY: DURING MARCH 23 CONVERSATION WITH POL COUNSELOR,
SOVIET ME EXPERT YE. M.PRIMAKOV DENIED THAT LACK OF
REFERENCE TO PLO GENEVA PARTICIPATION IN MARCH 21 BREZHNEV
SPEECH SIGNALLED ANY CHANGE IN SOVIET POLICY ON THAT
POINT. PRIMAKOV DESCRIBED SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO WORK
COOPERATIVELY WITH U.S. IN REACHING ME SETTLEMENT
DESPITE BAD SOVIET ME EXPERIENCE WITH U.S. DURING
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 03949 241818Z

KISSINGER DAYS. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING MAY 23 CALL BY POLITICAL COUNSELOR,
YE. M. PRIMAKOV, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF INSTITUTE OF
WORLD ECONOMICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (AND
ONE OF LEADING SOVIET ME EXPERTS) MADE FOLLOWING
POINTS:

--ME POSITION OF BREZHNEV MARCH 21 TV CONGRESS SPEECH WAS BASED ON AND CONSISTENT WITH SOVIET POLICY POSITION PRESENTED TO U.S. IN 1969 (REFTEL). OMISSION OF REFERENCE IN SPEECH TO UN RESOLUTION 242 AND TO PLO PARTICIPATION IN GENEVA CONFERENCE DID NOT SIGNAL ANY CHANGE IN SOVIET POLICY ON THESE ISSUES;

--BREZHNEV'S DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF SOVIET ME POLICY MAY OPEN SOVIET UNION TO CRITICISM FROM SOME QUARTERS, BUT SINCE THAT POLICY IS A BALANCED ONE, NO SIDE WILL BE TOTALLY CRITICAL OR TOTALLY PLEASED. THE END RESULT SHOULD BE TO MOVE EVENTS FORWARD IN ME AND GET ON WITH COMPLICATED NEGOTIATIONS NECESSARY TO REACH FINAL SETTLEMENT;

--PROBLEM OF ISRAELI-PLO MUTUAL NON-RECOGNITION IS ARTIFICIAL ONE USED BY ISRAELIS TO AVOID NEGOTIATIONS. AS REFLECTED BY RECENT POLITICAL MEETINGS INCLUDING PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL IN CAIRO, PALESTINIANS HAVE MOVED TOWARD IMPLICIT RECOGNITION OF ISRAELI EXISTENCE BY AGREEING TO ESTABLISH A PALESTINIAN STATE ON PORTION OF ARAB TERRITORIES TO BE LIBERATED FROM ISRAEL. PALESTINIAN WILLINGNESS TO SIT AT NEGOTIATING TABLE WITH ISRAEL WOULD ITSELF REPRESENT TACIT RECOGNITION OF ISRAELI STATE. BUT ISRAEL'S UNWILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE - SUPPORTED BY THE U.S. - REMAINS THE MAJOR HINDERANCE TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 03949 241818Z

GENEVA. IN THIS CONTEXT IT IS FULLY UNDERSTANDABLE THAT PLO IS WITHHOLDING ITS "SINGLE CARD", RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL;

--MOSCOW HOPED FOR MOVEMENT IN U.S. ME POLICY ON THE PART OF NEW ADMINISTRATION. THE BROOKLINGS INSTITUTION STUDY "TOWARD PEACE IN ME" - IN WHICH BRZEZINSKI PARTICIPATED - WAS CONSIDERED A POSITIVE APPROACH WHICH HAD SOME INFLUENCE ON THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S THINKING. PRESIDENT'S RECENT STATEMENT ON "PALESTINIAN HOMELAND" WAS CONSIDERED HELPFUL, BUT HIS COMMENTS ON "DEFENSIBLE BORDERS" WERE INTERPRETED AS CONTINUED U.S. WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT ISRAELI RETENTION OF CONQUERED ARAB TERRITORIES. "DEFENSIBLE BORDERS" IDEA HARKS BACK TO ALLAN PLAN AND IS UNACCEPTABLE. WHILE "MINOR RECTIFICATIONS" MIGHT BE COUNTENANCED, ISSUE OF RETURN TO ISRAEL'S BORDERS AS OF JUNE 1967 IS BASIC. BUT ISRAEL DOES NOT WANT TO GIVE UP OCCUPIED TERRITORY, DOES NOT WANT TO COMPROMISE

OR EVEN NEGOTIATE, AND THE U.S. HAS SUPPORTED THIS
INTRANSIGENCE AS SHOWN BY SECRETARY VANCE'S RECENT
TRIP THROUGH THE ME.

--SOVIET UNION IS GENUINELY INTERESTED IN WORKING
WITH U.S. ON PROBLEM OF OVERALL SOLUTION IN ME
DESPITE BITTER EXPERIENCE OF KISSINGER'S UNILATERAL
ME DIPLOMACY. VANCE VISIT WILL BE IMPORTANT
AS INDICATOR OF WAY IN WHICH U.S. INTENDS TO
COOPERATE WITH SOVIET UNION IN THIS PRGLEM AREA.

2. COMMENT. PRIMA KOV'S EXPERTISE AND REPUTATION
MAKE IT LIKELY HE REFLECTS VIEW OF SOVIET LEADERSHIP
ON ME QUESTIONS AND MAY EVEN HELP FORM THAT VIEW.
HIS APPROACH - HALF ATTACK-HALF WILLINGNESS TO WORK
WITH THE U.S. - MAY VERY WELL REPRESENT THE
PATTERN WHICH THE SOVIETS WILL ADOPT DURING DIS-
CUSSIONS ON THIS ISSUE DURING THE SECRETARY'S
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 03949 241818Z

VISIT. OF SPECIAL INTEREST WAS THE RECEPTIVITY
HE SHOWED TOWARD THE POSSIBILITY - EVEN THE
NECESSITY - OF COOPERATING WITH THE U.S. IN TRYING
TO REACH AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT DESPITE HIS STRONG
COMMENTS ON THE NEGATIVE SOVIET EXPERIENCE WITH
FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER'S ME POLICY (A SUBJECT
ABOUT WHICH PRIMA KOV HAS WRITTEN AT SOME LENGTH).
HIS STATEMENT ON THE POSSIBILITY
OF MINOR BORDER CHANGES HAS BEEN EXPRESSED
PRIVATELY BY SOVIETS BEFORE BUT IT MAY BE NOTEWORTHY THAT IT
WAS MADE AFTER BREZHNEV'S REMARKS ON PRECISE DELINEATION
OF BORDER LINES.
TOON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, CONSULTANTS, SPEECHES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 24-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MOSCOW03949
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770102-0497
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770327/aaaaawrz.tel
Line Count: 152
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ac9af0b2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 MOSCOW 3804
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3009693
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET ME EXPERT DISCUSSES POLICY
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, XF, (BREZHNEV, LEONID I), (PRIMAKOV, YE M)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ac9af0b2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009